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WITHDRAWN

MAY, 1929

HARVARD LIBRARY NOTES

LORD NELSON
AND OTHER MANUSCRIPTS

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS
HARVARD UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

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MAY No. 22 1929

FORTY-THREE 'Friends of the Harvard Library' dined together in the Biddle Memorial Room at the Harvard Club of New York on Tuesday evening, May 7. Franklin E. Parker, Jr., '18, the Executive Secretary of the 'Friends,' presided, and opened the post-prandial exercises by presenting to Professor Kittredge a silver tankard, whose hall-marks show that it dates from 1759.

A more recent inscription reads:

George Lyman Kittredge
on the publication of his
'Witchcraft in Old and New England'
from some of his Pupils and Friends
New York
May 7th 1929

Mr. Potter was called upon to report on what has been done with $7,195.51 contributed by the 'Friends.'

As the officer mainly responsible for the purchase of books from the gifts of the 'Friends of the Library,' I want to give an account of my stewardship. But first let me state briefly what these gifts mean to the Library. They enable us to purchase books and collections we could not buy otherwise and to take advantage of various opportunities that without these gifts we should have to pass by. It is not, of course, literally true that none of these books could have been bought without the aid of the 'Friends'; some we should have had to buy, even if we did not know where we were going to find the money to pay for them. But in general it can be said that they would not have come to us without these gifts.

Only a summary of what we have done can be given here — a catalogue of all the books would be too long and too dull. We have acquired many rare items in English literature. Among these may be mentioned two Pope items, which are not easily found since we received some years ago the Marshall Lefferts Pope collection; one Gay item, and these are equally hard to find since the acquisition a

year ago of Ernest Gay's collection of the works of John Gay; many editions of Fielding were also added. These gifts likewise helped towards the purchase of an important collection of English novels of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In another field we were able to make two important additions to the collection of the 'Imitatio Christi' given us by James Byrne, '77, a few years ago, one an incunabulum and the other a sixteenth century edition of a French translation, earlier than any we had before. We picked up from Goodspeed a rare Cotton Mather tract, Adversus Libertinos, printed in 1713. We bought a collection of Hungarian literature, which was especially needed by a graduate student working on that subject. Finally, as an illustration of how these gifts may help us, there was a set of reprints of early Bohemian books. When the order was sent for these we supposed it would be a series of inexpensive ordinary reprints, but when the books came they proved to be very fine facsimiles of the original rare works, and the cost was several hundred dollars. Without money available from the 'Friends' we could hardly have afforded this important and costly set.

Such are some of the opportunities we took advantage of last year, and such opportunities will continue to come. For an example, only last week we received the advance sheets of catalogues from two booksellers in Paris and in Rome. The former was devoted to French poetry to the death of Malherbe (1628), and would supplement the collection given us by Chauncey Stillman three years ago. We checked up the catalogue and found that the books we needed would cost about $4,000 — only about a quarter of them did we dare to order on the chance of having money enough to pay for them. The other catalogue was made up of important sets of Italian periodicals and society publications, but of these we could only order the few that we could buy from the Nash Fund for Italian literature or the Treat Fund for Church history.

Mr. Blake expressed the official thanks of the Library to all of those who have made it possible for the Library to go on expanding and to meet the needs of students in fields hitherto neglected or untilled.

The growth of the Library is in no sense a steady or normal expansion along definite, predetermined lines. In this it takes after the periphery of expanding human knowledge; at some points and along certain lines it proceeds rapidly, then pauses to take up its march in an entirely opposite direction and in quite different fields. We have naturally certain fields where interest and opportunity have combined to make us expand very largely, but expansion in its turn brings definite, almost permanent commitment. A periodical is like a baby; you are under obligation to take care of it for the rest of its natural life. Unlike a baby it never grows up, but it may, though rarely, get bad enough to be disowned or possibly it may die. Further, when we are strong in one field, it is only natural to seek to build further, to make our collection from a fair into a good one, from a good one into an excellent one.

The great danger in radial growth of this sort is that new fields of

importance and interest may be neglected. It is impossible to develop some new line of interest unless we have available free funds which may be used for any subject whatsoever. Frequently we have opportunities to obtain something interesting; in other cases we are forced to develop those parts of the field where fortuitous circumstances offer us openings to obtain what we want. Recent developments in the library field sometimes force our hand; South and Central American documents are beginning actively to interest American libraries, as the American Library Association has published a check list of these documents. Other fields may be increased because someone is passing through the country. My own plans involve a trip through the Balkans during the coming year, and I hope as a by-product thereof to build up our Bulgarian and Rumanian collections.

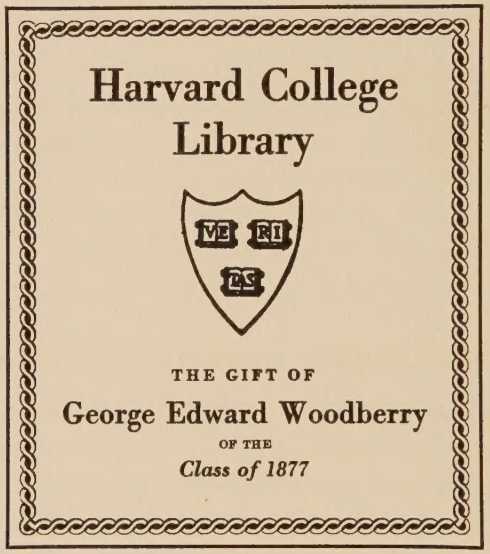
The others who were called upon, each of whom spoke on the many needs of the Library and how these might be met, were Professors Kittredge, Lowes, and Magoun, and James Buell Munn, '12. Professor Greenough explained the possibility of filling out the collection of English prose fiction, through a systematic search for less well-known writers, so effectively that a group of friends at the table forthwith contributed $5,400 for this purpose.

* * *

Morris Gray, '77, of Boston has given to the Library a fund of $30,000 for the purchase of current modern poetry, and $10,000 for talks by writers or students of poetry. The first of these talks was given by Mr. Gray's classmate, George Edward Woodberry, Litt.D. (1911), on April 17 in the Library's Art Room. The second, by Robert Frost of the class of 1901, was on May 9.

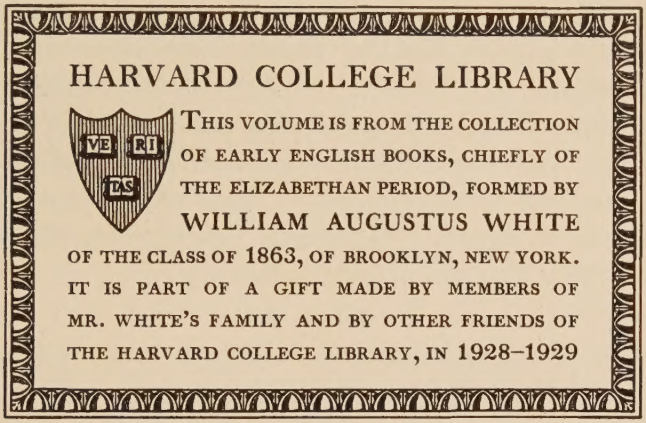
Mr. Gray supplemented this fund with a special gift of $2,000, for the purchase of poetry which has appeared during recent years, in order that the income from the capital sum might all be available for current publications. A part of this special gift has been set aside for French poetry, and it is hoped that occasionally the income from the fund will be sufficient for further purchases in other languages. The first claim upon it, however, will be for the output of verse in English, not only from Great Britain and America, but from all the scattered settlements of Englishmen.

MR. WOODBERRY, a few days after his talk, sent to the Library over a hundred volumes of verse, printed in such unexpected places as Athol, Springfield, Montpelier, Louisville, Canton, Ohio, Richmond, Rome, N. Y., and Washington, D. C., or, in nearly every case, containing presentation inscriptions signed by the author. Many of the volumes also contain autograph letters, frequently giving interesting biographical information concerning the aspiring poet.



MR. GRAY, in specifying that his gift is for current modern poetry, explained that this means the work of writers whose verse is making a distinct impression upon readers of the present day. A marked example of what he had in mind, as Mr. Gray himself pointed out, is Emily Dickinson, whose influence is much stronger upon poets and the readers of poetry in 1929, than in any preceding decade. This fact gave an especial reason for securing two manuscript poems in Miss Dickinson's hand-writing which had come into the possession of the Dunster House Bookshop. These two poems are accompanied by two

letters which account for their whereabouts during the whole period since they left the author's hands. One is from Thomas Wentworth Higginson, written in 1905 to the Misses Findlater of Rye in Sussex, giving them these two manuscripts. The other, from the surviving sister to the Cambridge bookshop, tells how Mr. Conrad Aiken, while living at Rye, learned of them and arranged for their return to America.


HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY
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THIS VOLUME IS FROM THE COLLECTION OF EARLY ENGLISH BOOKS, CHIEFLY OF THE ELIZABETHAN PERIOD, FORMED BY
WILLIAM AUGUSTUS WHITE
OF THE CLASS OF 1863, OF BROOKLYN, NEW YORK. IT IS PART OF A GIFT MADE BY MEMBERS OF MR. WHITE'S FAMILY AND BY OTHER FRIENDS OF THE HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY, IN 1928–1929

FROM the collection formed by William Augustus White, '63, Harvard was enabled to purchase 267 titles, additional to the 88 Shakespeare plays in quarto given by his heirs in June, 1928, with $230,925.32. Of this, $191,940 was contributed by 102 donors, members of Mr. White's family and other friends of the Library. The balance of the money for these books came chiefly from the fund bequeathed by Frank E. Chase; with smaller amounts from the funds which are named in memory of Bennett Hubbard Nash, Francis James Child, Charles Eliot Norton, Richard Mather Jopling, George Cabot Lodge and Joseph Trumbull Stickney.

* * *

IN the previous issue of these Notes is a statement of the Harvard showing in 'S. T. C.,' the Bibliographical Society's Short Title Catalogue of English Books printed

between 1475 and 1640. The purchases from Mr. White's collection raise the total number of these titles in the Library to 3,733. This is within two hundred of fifteen per cent of the whole number of recorded titles in 'S. T. C.,' a goal which ought to be attained before many years have passed.

Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach has brought it a step nearer by presenting the Library with a copy of one of the rarer prose publications of John Taylor, best known as 'The Water Poet.' It is entitled 'The Needles Excellency. A New Book wherein are divers admirable Workes wrought with the Needle. Newly invented and cut in Copper for the pleasure and profit of the Industrious. Printed for James Baler and are to be sold at the Signe of the Marigold in Paules Churchyard. 1640.' The Library now has 25 of John Taylor's tracts, printed before 1641.

* * *

The Anderson Auction Company has given the Library the catalogues of its sales for the past season, marked with the prices obtained for each lot. These priced catalogues are sent a few days after each sale, so that students interested in buying at auction have been enabled to watch the course of the market promptly.

* * *

Professor Kittredge read a manuscript poem by Adam Winthrop, the father of Governor John Winthrop of Massachusetts Bay Colony, at the April meeting of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts. This was discovered by him written on the flyleaf of the Library's copy of John Dawes's translation of Henry Bullinger's 'A Hundred Sermons upon the Apocalipse of Iesu Christe,' dated 1561, but actually published in 1562. Professor Kittredge also read from the same volume a manuscript sketch of John Dawes, written by Winthrop, which shed valuable light on Dawes's career.

WILLIAM SIMES, born at Portsmouth in 1845, practiced law in Boston until his death in 1927. It was characteristic of his quiet, well-spent life that he found relaxation in collecting autograph letters. He gradually brought together some 650 of these, which were given to Harvard by Mrs. Simes in May, 1928. Still in the cabinet in which he kept them, appropriately inscribed, they have an honored place in the Treasure Room.

The Simes autographs divide into two approximately equal groups. One is typical of many similar collections formed by his contemporaries, made up of letters signed by nineteenth century American political leaders, members of Congress, holders of diplomatic posts, more particularly the men of the Civil War period. Most of these individuals have failed to retain the place in history which they thought was going to be theirs, but their letters will always have a permanent value for students who wish to understand that confusing era. Mr. Simes gave his collection an especial interest by a series of letters signed by the Presidents of the United States, including a number by Washington and by Lincoln. He also showed his devotion to the town and state of his birth by purchasing various historical documents relating to them.

The other group is made up of the autographs of famous people, and it illustrates most effectively the way in which a collection of this sort widens the cultural interests of its possessor. Nothing shows this so clearly as a few of the names culled in turning over the portfolios. Here are communications from the two English Arnolds, Bernhardt and Bismark, John Bright, Browning and Fanny Burney, Garibaldi and Gladstone, Seymour Haden, Warren Hastings, Tom Hood, Hugo and Humboldt, Archbishop Laud and Toussaint L'Ouverture, Harriet Martineau, Mendelssohn and Murat, Richelieu, Renan and Lord Roberts, Robespierre and Ruskin, Scott, Spurgeon and the two Stanleys, Watts and Wagner.

Associate Professor Richmond Laurin Hawkins has devoted much attention to the manuscripts in the Treasure Room. In an article published a year ago in the 'Romanic Review,' he dealt with two Harvard manuscripts of the Roman de la Rose, the one in the Picard dialect of the first half of the fourteenth century, the other in the Francian dialect of the fifteenth century. More recently, Professor Hawkins has undertaken to edit the unpublished French letters in the collections of autographs which came to Harvard from Charles Sumner, Charles Eliot Norton, Mrs. James T. Fields, and William Simes. From these sources he has already published letters written to Americans by Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, Alexis de Tocqueville, and George Sand, and is now editing letters penned by Madame de Maintenon, Buffon, Voltaire, Marmontel, d'Alembert, Diderot, Grimm, Marat, Lavoisier, Toussaint Louverture, Madame de Staël, Chateaubriand, Benjamin Constant, Victor Hugo, Dumas *père*, Renan, Littré, and others. Articles by him are about to appear in the 'Revue d'Histoire littéraire de la France,' on 'Un Article inédit de Sainte-Beuve sur Béranger' (from the Charles Eliot Norton Collection); and in the 'Romanic Review,' on 'The Manuscripts of Jean-Jacques Rousseau at Harvard University' (from the Charles Sumner Collection).

THE NELSON MANUSCRIPTS IN THE HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY

By James P. Baxter, 3d

Through the generosity of Joseph Husband, '08, and of an anonymous donor, Harvard has received the collection formed by Mr. Husband of autograph letters and documents, portraits and printed material of exceptional importance concerning Admiral Viscount Nelson. Rich in human interest for all readers, the manuscripts from the hand of the greatest of all seamen hold for students of naval history a singular fascination. The addition of these to the Nelson and Lady Hamilton letters which are in the notable collection formed by Miss Amy Lowell, and other recent acquisitions, give the Library a remarkable body of naval manuscripts. It now possesses a log of the *Victory*, the latest extant order of battle issued by Nelson before Trafalgar, and a signed copy of his famous memorandum of October 9, 1805, which embodied the 'Nelson touch.'

The log of the *Victory* is a small quarto manuscript of 251 pages in its original binding of stiff vellum. It covers the period from December 30, 1792, when Lieutenant Hare commissioned the ship at Portsmouth, to April 26, 1794. Although antedating Nelson's connection with the most celebrated of three-deckers, it includes the siege of Toulon and the operations against San Fiorenzo and Bastia, when the *Victory* served as the flagship of Admiral Lord Hood. As is generally true of this species of journal, most of the entries concern the routine of life on shipboard. In this period of 483 days, it is interesting to note that the exercise of the crew at the great guns was recorded not more than a dozen times. Captain John Knight, as was the custom in those days, mustered his crew more often for punish-

ment than for training at the guns, though his punishment lists were short compared with those of some of his contemporaries. In the period covered by this log, fifty-nine punishments were recorded: twenty-five for theft, involving twelve to thirty-six lashes, thirteen for fighting, eight for neglect of duty, five for insolence or contempt, four for drunkenness, two for taking away a boat without leave, and one each for mutiny and for striking a superior officer. To one erring sailor drowning seemed preferable to a flogging. On June 10, at sea, 'hove all aback, out Boat and pick'd up James Murphy Seaman who had jump'd over board, being detected in a Theft.'

By July 19, 1793, the flagship 'saw the ships in Toulon,' and soon suffered severely from the northwest gales that were to cause Nelson later so much seasickness. The occupation of Toulon was tersely recorded. On August 28 'saw the Spanish Fleet SW. Out Boats, 4 line of Battle Ships and 2 Frigates stood in to land troops, sent an officer and 50 Seamen on Board the Romulus at ½ past 11, saw the Troops land. 18 Sail of Spanish Men of War WSW 2 or 3 Leagues. Observed sevl French Men of War go in to the inner Harbour of Toulon. . . .'

Before four months had elapsed a young artillery officer from Corsica had helped to make Toulon untenable by the Allies. Early on the morning of December 17 the log of the *Victory* recorded 'a heavy Cannonading and Musquetry at Fort Mulgrave the Enemy having attack'd that post. At 5 an Officer came on Board to report that the Enemy had taken that Post a heavy Discharge of Musquetry on Haute de Grasse our Troops having Attack'd the Enemy. The Commerce de Marseilles, Pompey and different Gun Boats, firing at the Enemy on Fort Mulgrave. 6 a.m. out of the Inner Harbour and Anchord H. M. Ships Terrible, Robust and Courageux.'

According to the nautical time followed on shipboard in those days, the twenty-four hours of December 18 began

at what landsmen would reckon noon of the seventeenth.[1] 'Unmoor'd ship and hove short on the Best Bower. ½ 'past Weighed towing the Ship further out. At 8 An- 'chor'd in 12 fms. A.M. receiving French Refugees men 'Women and Children that came along side. At 10 Hove 'up and towed further out. At noon Anchor'd, the dif- 'ferent Ships of the Fleet warping out also.

'Thursday 19. . . . At 9 P M observed a great Fire, 'supposed to be the Ships and Arsenal set on Fire by our 'People. Sent all our Boats to assist Embarking Troops. 'Recd some on Board. A.M. Weighed and made Sail 'with all the Fleet out of Toulon Harbour. . . .'[2]

Among the earliest of the Nelson manuscripts in the Husband collection is a seven-page journal of the Siege of Calvi, written by Nelson with his right hand.[3] A letter from Nelson to Francis Drake, dated *Agamemnon*, Gulph of Genoa, January 27, 1796, raises the troublesome question of foodstuffs as contraband. 'I have taken Two Vessels loaded with corn, one a Venetian from the Morea bound to Nice the other a Genoese from Genoa bound to Marseilles freighted by Gheraldo. I trust their Cargoes will be condemned unless Government mean to allow Corn to be carried to France for which I have had no orders. . .' The first of his letters in this collection to mention the Hamiltons is that of September 15, 1798 to Sir William, from the *Vanguard* on its way to Naples after the victory at the Nile. In response to an invitation to visit them, Nelson replied that "with your permission and good Lady Hamilton's I had better be at a Hotel it will not deprive

[1] See Gardner W. Allen, *Our Naval War With France*, 1909, Appendix VI. The statement there made by Professor Robert W. Willson that 'the use of the nautical day was a purely American practice' is incorrect.

[2] It has been impossible as yet to establish the exact relation of the log of the *Victory* in the Husband collection to that preserved in the Admiralty Library. The extracts from the latter printed in Sir J. Holland Rose's scholarly monograph, *Lord Hood and the Defence of Toulon*, Cambridge, 1922, show some variations in phraseology from the Husband text.

[3] Portions of this journal were printed in Sir Nicholas Harris Nicolas, *The Dispatches and Letters of Vice Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson*, 7 vols., London, 1844–1846, vol. i, 407–409, 416–417, 419–420, 421.

me of being with you long enough to teaze you, and as I must have much business with every officer it may be more convenient."[4] Allowing himself to be overpersuaded, he soon succumbed to the charms of his hostess.

Of the more than two hundred letters and documents which Mr. Husband gathered during years of discriminating care, twenty-five came from the pen of Lady Hamilton.[5] None of these is addressed to Nelson, who destroyed her letters with scrupulous good judgment. The first is that of December 3, 1785, to Sir William Hamilton, proposing that she visit him at Naples.[6] It was written at the suggestion of her lover, Hamilton's nephew, Charles Greville, who was planning, without her knowledge, to transfer his mistress definitively to his uncle. The following letters to Sir William mark the successive stages by which the charmer won the hand as well as the heart of the elderly ambassador. Four love letters from Nelson to Lady Hamilton, dated February 6, 1801,[7] March 2, 1801,[8] May 18, 1803,[9] and August 27, 1804,[10] are preserved in this collection. When their *ménage à trois* was installed at Merton in 1802, Nelson hoped that Sir William would find the fishing so good in the vicinity that Lady Hamilton might postpone her return to London.[11] Though the household accounts show that Nelson and Sir William each paid half of the expenses, the correspondence reveals serious friction between Sir William and Lady Hamilton, which provoked the former to speak of a separation.[12]

Shortly after Sir William's death in April, 1803, the

[4] *The Collection of Autograph Letters and Historical Documents formed by Alfred Morrison.*' (Second Series, 1882–1893.) *The Hamilton and Nelson Papers*, 2 vols., Printed for Private Circulation, London, 1893, 1894, vol. ii, 20. Hereafter cited as Morrison.

[5] Eleven of these are printed in Morrison, vol. i, 110, 123–124, 125, 127–128; ii, 88–89, 195–196, 320.

[6] *Ibid.*, vol. i, 110.

[7] T. J. Pettigrew, *Memoirs of the Life of Vice Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson*, 2 vols., London, 1849, vol. ii, 650–652; Morrison, ii, 112.

[8] Morrison, ii, 124.

[9] Pettigrew, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, 299.

[10] *Ibid.*, 420–422.

[11] Nelson to his sister-in-law, Mrs. Nelson, March 31, 1802.

[12] Husband collection, nos. 26, 27, 64 and 87.

renewal of the war brought Nelson again to the Mediterranean. When, during his long absence, a rumor arose that he was returning to England to restore his health, his old friend, Richard Bulkeley, wrote to Lady Hamilton, October 26, 1804. '. . . You say, If it is a sin to love him, you must sin on — I say Sin on, it is a crime worth going to Hell for — you must either love him, or be ungrateful — ingratitude is a sin, and I would rather commit myself to the lash of the infernal Prince, for the one crime, than the other — do you then love him well enough, to put him upon his legs with all *dispatch*, and you may be assured of your reward in one way or other — content yourself with this certainty, that he is yours from *choice* now, which is more gratifying to love, than if he were yours *only* because My Lord of Canterbury had made him so. . . .'

During his long vigil before Toulon, Nelson chafed continually at his shortage of frigates. If the experience of the World War did not drive the lesson home plainly, his letters would bear ample witness to the importance of cruisers in scouting and maintaining communications. British ship owners who had lost their ships to French commerce destroyers were complaining to the Admiralty at the way Nelson's brigs were stationed. To Sir Thomas Trigge at Gibraltar, he explained on January 13, 1804, his difficult situation:

'. . . I am always sorry when I hear of a capture but 'my mind feels easy that none of the captures are owing 'to any inattention of mine. The Admy keep me so much 'barer of small craft than Lord St. Vt [Vincent] was kept, 'that I have never one with me, for from Novr 24th when 'Excellent joined till I sent the Phoebe down in the end 'of Decr I had no means of answering a letter. I have six 'frigates and sloops to watch the French army in the heel 'of Italy to save the Morea which the Turks are in much 'fear about. Sir Alexr Ball [at Malta] calls loudly upon 'me for protection to their trade and provisions, I have 4

'for that service. I am obliged to keep a sloop or two be-
'tween Bonifacio and Sardinia to prevent the Invasion of
'800 men from Corsica, and yet the King of Sardinia and
'the Turk are at peace if such a situation can be called
'*Peace. . . .*' [13]

As Nelson's career reaches its climax in the campaign of 1805, the twelve Harvard manuscripts concerning the operations in that decisive year have high interest. First of these is the draft of an important letter of February 12 to William Marsden, Secretary to the Admiralty, in which Nelson explained his having gone to Egypt in search of the French fleet.[14] Next are the 'Most Secret Memoranda' for Captain Bayntun of the *Leviathan*, issued on March 11.[15] Four letters from Nelson to Collingwood, dated July 20, October 8, 12 and 18, are preserved in the Husband collection, together with the important orders issued on October 4 to Captain Duff of the *Mars*, of the Advance Squadron.[16] In the collection of autographs formed by William Simes, which Mrs. Simes presented to the Harvard College Library in his memory in May, 1928, is a letter from Nelson to Sir Charles Bunbury, September 26, 1805, concerning a protégé of the latter's: — 'Let him come forth and if I can take the Enemy's fleet he shall be made a Lieut. if not he must get an Admy recommendation for all except death Vacancys are considered as belonging to them. . . .' Less than a month later, on October 21, Death was to make a vacancy which no Admiralty could fill.

Hitherto only two copies of Nelson's order of battle of October, 1805, have been available to students. The first, which is unsigned and undated, was published by Nicolas in 1846 as if issued October 9, though as Sir Julian Corbett has suggested,[17] it may well be a discarded draft of earlier

[13] Cf. A. T. Mahan, *The Life of Nelson, The Embodiment of the Sea Power of Great Britain*, 2 vols, Boston, 1897, vol. ii, 241 ff.
[14] Printed in Nicolas, *Dispatches*, vol. vi, 340–341.
[15] *Ibid.*, 355–356.
[16] *Ibid.*, vol. vi, 477; vol. vii, 70–71, 86, 115, 126–127.
[17] Nicolas, *Dispatches*, vol. vii, 94; Sir Julian Corbett, *The Campaign of Trafalgar*, 2 vols., 2d ed., London, 1919, vol. ii, 393n.

date. A second copy, signed and dated 'Off Cadiz, Oct. 10, 1805,' which belonged to the Earl of Northesk, is in the museum of the Royal United Service Institution, with the fleet pennant-board attached.[18] In neither of these lists does the *Belleisle* appear, and in the Northesk copy the fifth station in each squadron is left blank. In the Husband collection, however, is an order of battle signed by Nelson and dated 'Victory off Cadiz, Oct. 10, 1805,' which was directed to Sir Thomas Livingstone, Captain of the *Renommee*. Like the Northesk copy it shows the divisional organization which is lacking in the Nicolas copy. Unlike the Northesk copy, however, the fifth station in the rear squadron is not left blank, but is filled by the *Belleisle*. As that ship joined the fleet on the evening of October tenth,[19] it seems reasonable to infer that the Husband copy was drawn up several hours later than the Northesk copy, and that it is therefore the latest recorded order of battle issued by Nelson before Trafalgar.

A gift in memory of Lionel de Jersey Harvard has crowned most royally the Library's Nelson collection. This is a copy of Nelson's celebrated memorandum of October 9, 1805. In the history of naval tactics no document compares in interest and importance with this, fraught with so much of England's fate. The unsigned holograph draft in Nelson's hand, with amendments in the hand of his chaplain, Dr. Scott, is in the British Museum.[20] To the signed copy delivered to Captain Hope of the *Defence* was added: "N.B. When the Defence quits the Fleet for England you are to return this Secret Memorandum to the Victory." [21] The gift in memory of Lionel de Jersey Harvard is a copy dated "Victory 9 October 1805," and signed "Nelson & Bronte." It was directed "To

[18] Corbett, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, 391–394.
[19] Nicolas, *Dispatches*, vol. vii, 113. Nelson to Marsden, October 11.
[20] Corbett, *op.cit.*, Appendix D. It was reproduced earlier in Nicolas, *Dispatches*, vol. vii, 89–92, and in Julian S. Corbett, ed., *Fighting Instructions*, 1530–1816 (Navy Records Society Publications, vol. xxix) (London), 1905.
[21] Nicolas, *op. cit.*, vol. vii, 92n.

Richard Grindall Esq. Captain of H M Ship the Prince." To this copy was added the following memorandum "to the respective Captains: When in presence of an Enemy all the Ships under my Command are to wear White Colours, and a Union Jack is to be suspended from the Fore top Gallant Stay." This is signed "Nelson & Bronte" and dated "Victory 10 Octr 1805."

This document "is memorable," wrote Mahan, "not only for the sagacity and comprehensiveness of its general dispositions, but even more for the magnanimous confidence with which the details of execution were freely intrusted to those upon whom they had to fall." As Corbett justly observed, "nothing is so remarkable in this immortal Memorandum as the way in which it seems to gather up and co-ordinate every tactical principle that had ever proved effective." It is one of the great documents of all time.

MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS

THE Harvard Library has long been the custodian of the college archives, and the Librarian, whose title for many years designated him as their official Keeper, has an inherited position as the dispenser of college lore. Except for this special duty to the preservation of Harvard's past, the Library has, however, steadily avoided becoming an archival collection. Books in manuscript, old or new, have always been merely books, to be treated and used as such. Such volumes accumulated with the normal growth of the library, until the time came when there were so many of them that they presented their own particular problems. These problems of the proper care of manuscript books are essentially different from those of caring for archives, although the two inevitably tend to impinge on each other. In the Library, they have become completely intermingled.

Nearly all the manuscript books date from the period before printing completely supplanted the professional scribe. In most American libraries such books are kept as curiosities, but at Harvard the Classical Department has slowly gathered a considerable number of texts of the works of ancient literature, specifically as laboratory material for training students for textual investigations.

The Library's archival collections, as a separate feature, date from the deposit in 1866 by Mrs. Jared Sparks of her husband's collection of historical documents, transcripts, memoranda, and correspondence, making altogether some 350 manuscript volumes. There can hardly be another collection which embodies more comprehensively the typical characteristics of literary and historical workers in the United States during the early nineteenth century. It was an era when Sparks, and equally Ticknor, Prescott, and others of their contemporaries, could legitimately expect 'to own every book he wished to consult,' and likewise to secure the original or a copy of every document which he considered necessary for the completion of his researches. It is easy to scoff at such ideals — easier than to produce better results than some of the scholars of those days left behind them. One thing they did was to preserve a great many precious original documents, and those in the Sparks Collection are still consulted frequently by investigators. Since then, archival material has piled up on the Library's shelves. Still little more than a nucleus, these manuscripts have extended until they present a definite problem of administration and oversight as well as of housing.

Charles Sumner not only collected rare books and autographs, but he preserved sedulously everything that concerned his public life. The mass of these private papers were turned in to the Library in 1897 by his biographer, Edward Lillie Pierce, after he had finished with them. They fill 14 shelves, 193 volumes, within which is a kaleidoscopic picture of the United States from 1830 to 1874.

Business interests began to crowd political concernments out of the foremost place in American life, as the nineteenth century turned into its later decades, and a large part of the story of this evolution, with its countless ramifications and interwoven strands, lies in the papers of Henry Villard, placed in the Library by his widow and sons.

James Russell Lowell left his papers to Charles Eliot Norton, by whom they were added to the Harvard collection in 1903. Alongside of these are the papers of Thomas Wentworth Higginson, dated from 1824 to 1911, and received from Mrs. Higginson in 1923. In 1928, Edward C. Storrow, '89, gave a portfolio containing 61 letters written by Washington Irving to his great-grandparents, Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Wentworth Storrow, just a hundred years ago. Nearly all the letters were written while Irving was in Spain, engaged upon his life of Columbus, and they are said by his biographer, Professor Stanley Williams of Yale, to constitute the principal source of intimate information concerning this most important period in his life.

The 'remains' of Margaret Fuller Ossoli, left to Harvard by Miss Edith Fuller, and now being arranged by Mrs. Dakin so that they can be used, are packed with details of New England's most brilliant literary period. Lindsay Swift, '77, who left all his papers to the Library, was throughout his life the intimate friend of many better-known writers and a collaborator in many literary undertakings. Murray Anthony Potter, '95, cut off before his industrious early years could bear fruit, left a long run of scholarly note books and memoranda which were placed in the Library by Mrs. Potter in 1916. Carl W. Ernst had a keen eye for all sorts of linguistic peculiarities, and the note books given by Mrs. Ernst in 1921 contain an invaluable store of records of local usages which have already passed beyond recall.

These larger groups are typical of hundreds of separate volumes, each of which has its own fitting place in the pic-

ture of the past, and in each of which some future investigator may find a priceless detail which unlocks the way to further knowledge. There is a row of old log-books of whaling days in the collection of Daniel B. Fearing, '82, and sermons, both old and new, as well as college note books which were well-nigh useless when given, but are now acquiring worth as the evidence of what "education" meant to Harvard graduates of previous generations.

Another group which began by slow accretions from individual gifts, consists of the original autograph manuscripts of literary works. Bayard Taylor's translation of Faust, a note book kept by Shelley, several of Longfellow's best-loved poems, what is probably the real original manuscript of "America," which was written by a Harvard graduate of 1829, are typical of what was already a highly creditable collection before later gifts gave it high distinction. These and more recent gifts, from the estate of Mrs. James T. Fields, of Harry Elkins Widener, of Charles Eliot Norton, and, latest, of Miss Amy Lowell, give the Harvard Library a notable place in this respect among American institutions.

The industrious enthusiasm of Thomas P. Martin, acting for the Harvard Commission on Western History, built up a substantial nucleus of documentary and archival material concerning the newer portions of this country.

In the section of English manuscripts, the most considerable single group comprises the papers of John Boyle, fifth Earl of Cork and Orrery, of a family noted for literary and scientific, as well as administrative, attainments. With these one associates the long rows of volumes of English ballad manuscripts, both originals and transcripts, owed primarily to the life-long searchings of Francis J. Child. Notable among these are the manuscripts of Bishop Percy, as well as those of Cecil J. Sharp.

In other languages, the largest collections are in German and Portuguese, both mainly historical and dating from

the gift of the Hohenzollern Collection by Professor A. C. Coolidge, and the generous purchases made by Hon. John B. Stetson, Jr. Another collection due to Professor Coolidge's enthusiasm embraces the manuscripts relating to the Near East which formed a part of the library of Count Paul Riant, probably as a unit the most valuable single group of manuscripts in the library. Much smaller, but relatively very large, are the groups of Icelandic and of Irish manuscripts, the latter growing as opportunity offers through the nurturing care of Professor Robinson.

AUTOGRAPHS

THE Harvard Library's collection of autographs and autograph letters has developed in a way that is typical of the growth of the Library as a whole during the past half century. Looking back into still earlier periods, it is easy to perceive that the officials of those days were by no means negligent in caring for interesting things. The essential difference is that the range of interest is wider now than it was then.

The change came during Justin Winsor's administration, when he devoted much thought to sorting all sorts of ephemeral material, under subject headings which embraced every outpost of academic attention. Among this flotsam that Mr. Winsor stored away for future users, there were many letters which, for all sorts of reasons, he thought somebody might some day be glad to see. The Harvard Library in those days was as preëminent among American college libraries as it is now, but it was also then a place where a persistent student could hardly fail to find the things he needed to see — such as a stray letter pasted into a scrap book devoted to the subject upon which he was working. If the student did not find it, Mr. Winsor was more than likely to recollect it, and tell him about it.

The death of Mr. Winsor was followed by that of

Mr. T. J Kiernan, who was the last person who will ever know all the books in the Harvard Library. Mr. Winsor had passed on to Mr. Lane a considerable mass of memoranda concerning various matters of useful information, and these grew rapidly, and were more frequently consulted, as they came to be arranged and organized. Among these were notes on various signatures to be found on the fly-leaves of library volumes. These notes were put in order, and supplied a nucleus to which additions soon began to be made systematically. The List of Autographs in time developed into a comprehensive index to all autographs, on letters as well as in books, and this has for many years been one of the useful helps in answering questions from persons engaged upon many phases of biographical research.

Meanwhile, there was a steady accumulation of single letters which were worth saving either because of the personality of the writer, or for the contents. Many of these, in scrap books or pasted into volumes, were indexed in the autograph catalogue, but the individual letters found a more natural resting place in an alphabetical file. As soon as the place was provided, more and more claimants to its hospitality appeared, until this file, constituting the Library's Autograph Collection, has come to be one of the most engrossing features of the Treasure Room. It now fills forty-six boxes, rather larger than the standard filing boxes for storage, holding not far from one hundred and fifty separate letters each, or a present total for this collection of about seven thousand pieces. The folders also carry, in addition to the original letters, references to letters written by the same person which are to be found elsewhere in the library, while single sheets record similar references to other letter writers. These references are far from complete, but there are very nearly as many of them as there are original letters in the file. The combination of letters and of simple autographs in the index proved, in

practice, to be confusing and irritating. The two were therefore separated, and all the available information about written letters is now found in a single place, in the file, while the four drawers of index cards contain references to more than 4,300 names which have been noted as written in books or are to be found in other places. Included among these are a pathetic number of survivals from the altogether regrettable days when autograph collectors thought that all they wanted was the signature of Washington or Lincoln or McKinley, of Poe or Tennyson, cut out of a letter.

Of these letters, nearly three thousand came as a part of the bequest from Evert J. Wendell, '82. Mr. Wendell was an omnivorous accumulator, who had learned the basic lesson of successful collecting in a field of wide range and many ramifications. He knew that much of what he wanted was of so little intrinsic value, by itself, that the regular book-sellers could not afford time or space to exhibit it for customers. Therefore he systematically sought for bundles, parcels, cartloads or even whole libraries in which unconsidered trifles — priceless for his purposes — might lie hidden. This was what came to Harvard as a by-product of his gift of his great theatrical collection. The mass of autographs and manuscripts was merely a minor section, from which the dramatic letters and documents had been carefully culled for the Theater Collection, but it occupied a considerable portion of Mrs. Livingston's time for four years, before she had completed the identifying, arranging and listing of it all.

Among the Evert Wendell papers, there were a number of historical documents, some of one or two centuries ago, and a generous assortment of letters from the minor literary figures of the past fifty years. There is no occasion to stress their importance, but the future value is likely to be considerable in at least one aspect. Here will be found an effective offset to the great collection of papers accumu-

lated by James Russell Lowell, Margaret Fuller Ossoli, Charles Eliot Norton, and Thomas Wentworth Higginson, wherein will be found the richest flowering of New England's literary culture during the latter half of the nineteenth century. It will be useful to have at hand a sufficiently comprehensive representation of members of the literary groups in New York and Philadelphia, as well as in Chicago and other western and southern centers, to make sure that the Harvard students of American literary movements in those decades do not get any erroneous notions of how the literary lights outside of New England were burning.

Not the least of the benefits which this simple and comprehensive autograph letter file has conferred is in providing an obvious place for a good many communications which are clearly worth preservation, but for which no equally obvious resting place is in sight. This is matched by the almost daily experience which proves that sooner or later everything is grist in the academic mill. Investigators have one common habit, that of asking for things that are least likely to have been foreseen. Like other autograph collections, this one gets its high distinction from a creditable showing of the world's distinguished names. Its actual reputation among those who consult it, however, is due to a fair percentage of success when looking for names that the custodian never heard of. The handwriting of anyone who has ever done anything, not necessarily creditable, is fairly certain to have its use sometime or other in a great library. The invitations to dinner received by Charles Sumner when he visited Europe are a tragic record of unimportances; but they have already acquired dignity as evidence of a vanished social order, and one inquisitive student drew inferences from them as to the composition of a political group.

A similar series of social documents picturing life in the German court circles during some later decades, came as

a bequest from Miss Mary Perkins Quincy, comprising letters and other papers carefully preserved by the American Mary Lee, Countess Waldersee, Princess de Noer, during the reigns of the last three German emperors. Under the terms of Miss Quincy's will, these documents are being arranged with a view to publication, by Miss Sarah V. G. Peck.

Taken as a whole, these letters constitute an important division of the archival material belonging to the Library. As in all archives, it is of the most diverse value and a major part of its historical interest is undoubtedly hidden through the virtual necessity of the arrangement in a single alphabet of names. But the material is there, awaiting the investigator who cares to delve, and the possibilities are as many as there are subjects that scholars pursue.

The eight bound volumes of Sumner autographs, received in 1874, appear to have been the first important acquisition in this line. Mr. Sumner, after he was incapacitated for public life, spent much time in Europe, where buying books and autographs furnished one of his principal relaxations. Very few of the greater names of the previous three hundred years failed his persistent endeavors to add them to his portfolios. Along with these, he carefully retained examples of his correspondence with persons of contemporary importance, so that he provided the Library with a bird's eye impression of who was who during the middle nineteenth century.

The selected autographs kept by Charles Eliot Norton came to Harvard as a gift from his family, and have since received supplementary additions in the almost equally important Richard Norton collection, and in various gifts from the Misses Norton. Of these last, the most precious is a set of the printed Letters of Professor Norton, extra-illustrated by original letters written to him by nearly all of the correspondents to whom the printed letters were addressed. Professor Norton's collection comprises three

boxes of American letters, two of English, and one each from German and of other foreign correspondents.

From the estate of Mrs. James T. Fields, Harvard received two overflowing volumes which long held an honored place in Boston's bookish gossip. Few people of literary note came to Boston, from the days of Ticknor and Fields to 1915, without sitting at Mrs. Fields' tea table. And it was not easy to talk of nineteenth century literature without mentioning names which would bring out these volumes, crowded with personal letters from everyone worth knowing throughout the long span of her life. With these letters, priceless for their associations almost as much as for their contents, came more than a score of the Library's most important literary manuscripts.

Frederick Locker-Lampson had a favorite scrap book of autographs, which held much the same place in his affections that the two just mentioned did in that of Mr. and Mrs. Fields. It contained, among many other treasures, three letters from Randolph Caldecott and five from Walter Crane. These led Mr. A. H. Parker, '97 to buy it in 1924 for his collection of the works of these two artists. After he secured it, and had looked it through, he was so impressed with the importance of keeping the volume intact for the light it sheds on Locker's friendships, that he gave it at once to the Harvard Library, whither the remainder of his Cranes and Caldecotts followed four years later. Among the other content of this volume are letters of Matthew Arnold (6), S. C. Calverley (9), George Cruikshank (6), Austin Dobson (3), Gustav Doré (4), Richard Doyle (4), George Eliot (4), Oliver Wendell Holmes (4), Bret Harte, Andrew Lang (6), John Leech (2), Frederic Leighton (3), James Russell Lowell (4), George du Maurier (6), J. E. Millais (6), John Ruskin (4), A. C. Swinburne (3), and Anthony Trollope (3).

When Mr. Parker transferred to the Library his collection of the works of Crane and Caldecott, to form the

Caroline Miller Parker Collection in memory of the late Mrs. Parker, the letters written by these two artists constituted an important portion of the gift. Many of those written by Crane deal with his printed work, one especially valuable series being addressed to the publishers while "The Basis of Design" was going through the press. Caldecott was a delightful correspondent, with a fluent pen which repeatedly found it easier to show what he had to say, pictorially, than in words, so that nearly all his intimately personal letters contain a sketch showing where he is or what he is doing.

* * *

THE dedication copy of James Russell Lowell's 'Democracy and Other Addresses' was among the treasures which came to Harvard from the library of Norton Perkins. The printed dedication was dated November 10, 1886, and the inscription on the fly leaf, December 16. Inserted is the following letter;

Deerfoot Farm, Southborough, Mass.
16th Dec: 1886

My dear Smalley,

I send you today through the bag of the Legation — you see how I cling to office — a copy of my book which I have had bound as well as they could do it at Riverside. There is an epigram of Burns something like this — only better —

'Ye bookworms through the precious text
In safe seclusion make your windings;
But how his Lordship would be vext
If you should meddle with his bindings!'

You see the application. You needn't bother yourself about the text, but be as lenient as you can towards the case that holds it.

I am really in Boston despite my epigraph. The air is a tumultuous blur of snow as confused as Chaos when it first grew dimly conscious of the germs of creation hunting each other up in its poor old empty noddle. I go back to Deerfoot tomorrow if not blockaded here. If I am, the *Atlantic* will have to wait another month for some verses of mine. Poor *Atlantic!*

Love to all.
Faithfully yours,
J. R. LOWELL

G. W. SMALLEY, Esqr.

Tell Mrs. Smalley that if I don't find a letter from her waiting for me at Southborough, I shall write to her! If this threat doesn't scare her, I know not what will.

Lowell's topical poem entitled 'Credidimus Jovem Regnare,' appeared in the *Atlantic* for February, 1887.

CONCERNING THE LIBRARY

[Sir John Maynard's Gift of Books to Harvard in 1682] By Dr. Charles L. Nichols. Proceedings, American Antiquarian Society, xxxiv, 14–19.

A statement on behalf of the Council of the Society, of the reasons which led the Society to present to Harvard thirteen volumes that were originally a part of Maynard's gift of 'eight chests of books valued at £400.' Most of the books were lost in the fire of 1764, but these thirteen volumes had been rejected as duplicates and sold to Cotton Mather, who graduated in 1678, soon after they were received, in 1682. The remains of Mather's library found its way to the Antiquarian Society, about a century ago, and these volumes were returned to Harvard at a meeting held in the Harry Elkins Widener room, April 9, 1924.

Roundabout Papers by William Makepeace Thackeray. Edited by John Edwin Weeks, Ph.D., Professor of English in Connecticut College. N. Y. Harcourt, Brace and Company [1925].

The Manuscripts, pp. xxix–xxxi. 'The original manuscript of most of the "Roundabout Papers" is preserved in two volumes owned by the Library of Harvard College . . . [one] received as a bequest from Mrs. James T. Fields, [the other] a gift from Leslie Stephens, through Charles Eliot Norton. . . . At Harvard are also (1) a complete set of paged proofs of "Small-Beer Chronicle," and (2) the first two pages of a set of "Ogres."'

John Ogilby, 1600–1676. His 'Britannia' and the British Itineraries of the Eighteenth Century. By Sir Herbert George Fordham. In 'The Library,' London, September, 1925.

On page 169 is an account of the third edition, 1679, of 'Mr. Ogilby's Pocket Book of Roads,' of which the Harvard copy is the only one known to Colonel Fordham.

Satirical Poems published anonymously by William Mason with Notes by Horace Walpole now first printed from his manuscript. Edited by Paget Toynbee. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1926.

These six poetical tracts, with Walpole's annotations, were purchased from the income of the fund established in memory of Professor F. J. Child. They form an addenda to the collection of contemporary verse from Walpole's library, given by A. H. Parker, '97, in 1924.

UNPUBLISHED SHELLEY POEMS ARE DISCOVERED AT HARVARD. Translation from Plato and Verses Written on Receiving a Celandine Are New. By Walter Edwin Peck, Wesleyan University. Boston Herald, December 21, 1925.

'All of these new poems are included in a Note Book willed to Harvard Library in 1902 by Edward A. Silsbee of Boston.'

THE CELANDINE, A NEWLY DISCOVERED POEM BY PERCY BYSSHE SHELLEY. Printed by Edward Henry Blakeney at his Private Press, Winchester, 1927.

'The poem here printed was discovered, quite recently, in a manuscript, in Shelley's handwriting, now at Harvard.... Shelley's stanzas were first published in the Boston Herald for Dec. 21, 1925; they have not appeared separately till now. The present issue is limited to thirty copies.'

There is no mention of Professor Peck in this reprint, nor any attempt to correct the errors in his newpaper article.

BALLAD: YOUNG PARSON RICHARDS BY PERCY BYSSHE SHELLEY. Now first published from the manuscript in the Harvard University Library by Walter Edwin Peck. Iowa City, Iowa, 1926.

'One of one hundred copies only printed for private distribution. Text from the first publication in the Philological Quarterly, April, 1926.'

THE ROAD TO XANADU by John Livingston Lowes. Boston, 1927.

Not all of the books mentioned by Professor Lowes are in the Harvard Library, although efforts were made to secure everything he needed while preparing his manuscript.

A note on p. 528 tells of the laying of a ghost-book, a sixteenth century Oxford edition of Bodin, 'De La Demonomanie,' created by a London bookseller before 1826, which came to Harvard in 1923 with Professor William James's library.

A SURVEY OF LIBRARIES IN THE UNITED STATES conducted by the American Library Association, Chicago, 1926.

The Harvard practice in regard to inter-library loans to other institutions is in vol. II, p. 226. A table on p. 221 shows that Harvard borrowed 278 books and loaned 1,111, during a period not specified, i.e. borrowings were 15 per cent of loans. The other university libraries of more than 100,000 volumes which lent more than they borrowed were Chicago, 19%; Michigan, 25%; Princeton, 48%; Yale, 54%; Oregon, 64%; and Pennsylvania, 74%.

As this issue of the NOTES goes to press, Mr. Parker has added to the Caroline Miller Parker Collection 67 drawings by Caldecott, eleven sketch books of Walter Crane, and seven of the books which Crane illustrated, with the original drawings.

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